l: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

A striking difference between the Dorobo and Nandi systems is that whereas Nandi may not marry any person in the *ātēet*, the Dorobo were insistent that a man might marry his father's sister's daughter's daughter, the girl whom he calls *masokor*, a person definitely in the *ātēet*. This type of marriage does not seem to occur now; but did in the past. Marriage with a wife's sister is considered objectionable.

Behaviour patterns may be summed up in a statement made by a Dorobo that "a man does not use bad language to his father, though his father may beat him as a child, nor does he use bad language to his father's brother; he does not speak of dirty things, nor of sexual matters, to his mother and his mother's sister, for it is bad to do so; but we are all on terms of friendliness and 'clean fun.'" Generally speaking, seniority is a matter of age, except with respect to the father's brother. Between a man and members of his own generation considerable latitude is allowed; but elders must always be shown respect. Where the claims of relatives are concerned, the amount of contact is important, for even a close relative who lives a long way off and is seldom seen cannot expect and will not receive so much respect as one who lives nearby and is well known. On a husband's part, there should be complete avoidance of his wife's mother, though this may be relaxed by degrees as he gets older; conversation with the wife's father should be limited to greetings.

Pre-marital Sex-life

Owing to the small number of Dorobo and the consequent shortage of women for wives, men have little in the way of pre-marital sex-life; and if a man does manage to acquire a lover, he often marries her.

Bridewealth

This varies according to circumstances, and Dorobo statements about it are conflicting. In 1927 it was said to consist of large quantities of honey-wine and of monkey-skin caps; but in 1930 the standard was one cow (with calf if still suckling), one ox, and four goats. The number of goats varied in the recorded cases from two to six, and in one case the cattle amounted to four cows. A man also gives his father-in-law presents of honey-wine and a fur cap or two; thus marriage is more of a drain on a man's resources than formerly.

Betrothal

A man chooses his wife himself, and arranges the preliminaries with the girl's father during two visits at which he gives him presents of honey. After the second visit the father calls the clan council together and publicly gives his consent to the marriage.

Marriage

The marriage ceremonies are conducted by an elder known for the time as *paiuon*, who brings the bride to her future husband's home, where the guests are already assembled feasting. The girl enters the hut in which the ceremony is to take place, and in the presence of witnesses the *paiuon* gives her to the man, saying, *Kaipuccia ciccio*, "you now belong to this man." He then binds some *sekeūet* grass on the man's right wrist, and an old woman binds some of the same on the girl's right wrist. They are now married. The *paiuon* then sets up an erection of *sekeūet* grass called *tumdo* which is smeared over with cow-dung; this the wife has to knock down and tread upon. After this, the pair are left alone, and the marriage is consummated. Next day the *tumdo* is trodden into the floor and plastered over with cow-dung, for it must not be seen. The pair are then shaved, he by the *paiuon*, she by the old woman, and the hair is buried in cow-dung under an erection of sticks called *kowoiet*, which is set up in great secrecy by the *paiuon*. It is essential

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

585 [237] [591] that cow-dung be used for both the *tumdo* and *koruiot*, and if there are no cattle in the bridegroom's settlement it must be procured from somewhere else. Marriage is patrilocal.

Marriage with Nandi

582 [248] Eighteen marriages were recorded in genealogies between Dorobo and Nandi or members of the Nandi group:

Dorobo and Nandi women: 8	Dorobo and Nandi men: 10
Dorobo and Keyo women: 1	Dorobo and Keyo men: 1
Dorobo and Turik women: 1	

Marriage of Dorobo women to outsiders seems to be due to the poverty of the Dorobo, which in these cases would have meant that the women would have remained unmarried; such marriages also mean the accession of stock to the Dorobo.

Polygyny

595 [587] Although there is no objection to polygyny, Dorobo seldom have the means of acquiring more than one wife at a time, though several cases occurred of re-marriage after a wife's death or desertion. In one genealogy a woman had no less than four successive husbands, none of them her husband's brother, and her only issue was one daughter.

Re-marriage of Widows

587 Unlike the Nandi, the Dorobo recognize the re-marriage of widows in the normal manner on payment of bridewealth to their fathers, brothers, or other representatives; it is, however, unusual. Widows normally live with their husband's brothers, return to their parents, or else live alone.

Divorce

586 Divorce is rare, and is of one kind only—permanent. The husband can claim the return of the bridewealth. But a wife who has borne a child cannot be divorced for any cause whatsoever.

Birth

843 [834] 844 846 862 845 [824] Intercourse between husband and wife stops at the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy, and is not resumed till the child is about six months old. Birth takes place in the husband's hut, the husband going to live elsewhere nearby. The wife is attended by a midwife, *apaiyoyoit*, and her mother is present if possible. She stays in the hut for six or seven days after the birth, and the child's body must be kept covered for several weeks, even the father being allowed to see only its face. The mother must be purified by her husband, who kills a goat (which he must acquire somehow if he has none of his own) and rubs the fat and undigested grass (*siyat*) from the stomach on her face, breasts, and belly. Children are weaned at the age of about a year. Twins are not liked, and the mother's ritual uncleanness caused by their birth must be removed by the killing of a goat which is eaten by the mother and her women friends. The Dorobo say that if a man has set a trap at the time when his wife bears twins, the trap will never again catch an animal.

753 [816] [802] Children receive their first name, the spirit-name, soon after birth; as among the Nandi, this name is not used, but links the child with a protecting spirit. The second or principal name is given before the child can walk, at the time when it is first given solid food, and is called "porridge name" in imitation of the Nandi custom. Children may also be given nicknames which often refer to some physical peculiarity. After circumcision, boys become *kwap*, men of, eldest sons taking their

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

on, the suitor goes again to the girl's father with another bag of honey, and makes his request again. After a short time, perhaps two or three weeks, the father calls the clan together, and tells the suitor to attend. To the assembled council, the father says, "Here is my daughter, and here is the man who wants her to be his wife", thereby giving publicly his consent.

Next, the bride-payment is settled. This is not absolutely fixed, but varies slightly according to circumstances. Statements about its nature and amount in the old days are somewhat conflicting. In 1927 I was told it consisted chiefly of honeywine in fairly large quantities, and of monkey-skin caps, a statement probably true of the very old days when few of the forestdwellers had any live stock at all. But since those days, the introduction of even a small amount of live stock has changed the nature of bride-payment. People said in 1939 that in the old days (*dowj*) a man had to provide four oxen for slaughtering at the marriage feast as well, but I could find no instance of this. In 1939, the standard bride-payment was one cow, with its calf if still sucking, one ox, and four goats, subject to slight variation according to the circumstances of the father in law; other amounts that I recorded were: 1 cow, 1 ox, 6 goats; 1 cow, 1 ox, 2 goats; 2 cows, 6 goats; 4 oxen and 2 goats. As well as the stock, a man gives his father in law honey wine and one or more fur caps, thus combining the old bride-payment with the new, and making the acquisition of a wife more of a drain on a man's wealth than it used to be.

Payment of the bride cattle need not be made before the marriage ceremony, but the first instalment should be handed over within a few months, and the rest at such intervals as may be agreed upon. If the husband dies before completing payment, his brother takes the widow and completes the payment; in such cases it is not necessary for the pair to go through the marriage ceremony, for the formal acceptance of responsibility by the brother before the clan council legalizes the status of any children she may bear him. If the husband has no brothers, the procedure depends on whether the woman has borne a child or not. If she has not, she returns to her father, and the animals already paid are handed back to the husband's people, and she is free to marry anyone she pleases; if she has had a child, she stays with her husband's group, and some member of the family (who this is, depends upon what men are available) takes charge of her and the child, and completes payment of the bride cattle.

Having settled the matter of bride payment, the suitor has next to arrange for the marriage ceremony. He gets an old man, of any clan, with whom he is on terms of fairly close friendship, to act as master of the ceremonies. This old man is called *Pa-tawa*[*] by the bridegroom and *Pa-mani* by the bride. His first job is to collect the friends and classmates of the pair. They gather round the hut where the ceremony is to take place; this is in the settlement of the suitor's father. On the chosen day, the bride

[*] *Pa-tawa* is used also in connection with circumcision, which is called *Tawa*. Though the Nandi word *tuw* means primarily „circumcision" (cf. *Luo thowo*, „mother"), in Dorobo it seems to have acquired the meaning of „ceremony".

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

585 is dressed and oiled during the morning at her own home by the old women of her family and settlement. When she is ready the bridegroom's mother and the *Pa-tum* come for her, accompanied by a small boy or girl known as the *mistoi* or "herdsman", who acts as page or bridesmaid. It does not matter whether the *mistoi* is a boy or girl: the choice depends entirely upon who is available. The function of the *mistoi* is obscure; he or she merely walks with the bridal party, doing no specific duty. The bride is led to the bridegroom's place, where the guests are assembled drinking the beer and eating the food which has previously been prepared by the bridegroom's family. By now it is evening, and the bride on her arrival is called, together with the groom, by the *Pa-tum* to the hut where the ceremony is to take place. In this hut, in the presence of some old men, the *Pa-tum* says to the bride, *Koipuncia cicuto, maiowuti* ("you belong to this man, do not go from him"). The old men then leave, and when they are alone the *Pa-tum* binds a bracelet of *sokoiot* grass (*lpurukuta*) on the bridegroom's right wrist, while an old woman of the girl's clan binds a similar bracelet on the girl's right wrist. This act and the words *'koipuncia'*, etc. constitute the essential part of the ceremony, for they bind the woman to her husband. After this, an erection of grass called *tumdo* is set up in the middle of the hut by the *Pa-tum*. It consists of a bundle of *sokoiot* grass tied together and set up in a hole in the floor, having been made in secrecy beforehand by the *Pa-tum* and the old woman who assists him. The *Pa-tum* makes a hole in the floor with a pointed stick and lines the hole with dung. The bundle of grass is then stood upright in it and the hole is plastered over with a small mound of dung, and dung is also smeared all over it so that the grasses stick together; the dung must be cow-dung. When it is ready, the husband says to his wife, *Nyoo tin*, "come and tread on it". She does so, whereupon the *Pa-tum* sets it up again, and the action is then repeated three more times, after which it is left lying on the ground and remains there all night, while the newly married couple consummate the marriage beside it. The *tumdo* seems to be a fertility symbol, erectile phallic, and is perhaps left on the floor during the first marriage-act to ensure a fertile union. In the morning it is trodden well into floor and dung is plastered over so that it cannot be seen. It is particularly important that children should not see it. Next day the pair are shaved, by the *Pa-tum*, also by the old woman, and the hair is buried under an erection called *kerenisi*, which is made by the *Pa-tum* of five or six sticks about 5 feet long cut from *olawiyuti* (olive), *ceptai'yat*, or *mamita* trees, and tied together at the bottom with liana and set upright in a hole in the ground somewhere in the forest or in thick bush. The hair is placed against the liana binding, and a small mound of cow-dung is made over it. The *kerenisi* is then left untended till it falls down. No children or unmarried people may see it, and it is made with the utmost secrecy by the *Pa-tum*, none but he knowing where it has been set up, in order to prevent the hair from getting into the hands of a witch. The use of cow-dung is essential for both *tumdo* and *kerenisi*, and if there are no cattle in the bridegroom's settlement, somebody must go beforehand and bring some in.

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Social Organization.—The Tribe.—The Wanderobo are very few in number, and are divided among three sections, each of which has its own habitat a follows (according to the Chief, who was my informant on this point):— 631 618

Section.	Habitat.	Approximate Numbers.
Eshesenge	Eshesenge	40
Chepon	Kamagambo	40
Lutenwe	Lutenwe	40

Each section lives in a single village of its own, similar in structure to that already described. The sections are not intimate, but they are congenerous, and descent is in the male line. The tribe has but one chief, who lives at Eshesenge (north of Kisumu). Chiefainship is hereditary, and no woman is ever permitted to wield the powers of a chief. To Chepon and the Lutenwe 643 622 are each provided over by a headman (pasefuodhe).

Birth.—When a child is born the mother is assisted by home relations. There are no official deliveries, as among the Luiwer. The Wanderobo allege that there are no special ceremonies connected with birth. Should a child come feet foremost into the world he will be lucky throughout life. It is stated that the afterbirth is thrown away with the rubbish. After weaning, a child recognize his father's but, if a boy, and her mother's if a girl. 844 858

Betrothal and Marriage.—The rules for betrothal seem to be very similar to those usual among the Luiwer, except that the prospective husband goes to Orgid's people direct, without representation in the first instance. The consent of the girl and of the parents on both sides is necessary, and the number of gifts is not specified as it is among the Luiwer. 584

Marriage is celebrated by a feast in which the people of thirty sections to which the contracting parties belong take part. There is no dance peculiar to the marriage feast. After 585 ● marriage a man lives for two days and nights in the hut of his betrothed, after which she returns 591 with him to his own village, there to occupy a new hut already built for the newly married 592 couple by the male partner, after he has consulted the wizard with regard to the luckiest time for erecting it.

Burial.—All the dead are buried without special ceremony. There is no special burial 764 ground, but graves are dug "out in the bush," well away from the village.

Age Classes.—These appear to be quite unknown. 561

Crime and Punishment.—The chief offence is adultery. This crime, is a private affair, 689 and is dealt with privately, for it is not a sin against the community. A woman who is guilty in respect of this is cast out by her husband, who seeks the offending man with a view to slaying him. Murder is, however, a tribal affair, for which the punishment is death. The Luiwer 682 practice in this respect is not followed.

* This statement was subsequently contradicted, to a far as it was true that the wizard attends at all births.

/341 cont./

582 (971) often necessitate a more lenient interpretation, so that there has often come about a practice according to which the bridal couple may not be related more closely than the third degree.

• 585 After the completed paying of the bride price, the bride is handed over to the bridegroom, and the latter either takes her along immediately or leaves her for two or three weeks to learn housekeeping with his mother, so that the latter will instruct her in housekeeping.

(971) There is nothing new to be said about the wedding customs. A jus p. n. /jus primae noctis/ also exists here, and, to be sure, in the same form as among the Masai.

586 (971) Divorce, as among the Masai, comes about if the husband drives out the wife or if the latter runs away from him. What was said about the possible return of the bride price there also applies. With the divorce all the children remain with the father. The woman keeps the infant only until the end of the nursing period, which she usually spends with her parents, whereupon the father also takes this child to live with him. If a pregnant woman runs away from her husband, he may demand the child, without compensation, after the weaning. Husband and wife may remarry immediately after a divorce, though a woman who is nursing a child is supposed to wait until its weaning. Divorced couples may reinstate the marriage by mutual consent, without any formalities. What was said of the Masai about the dissolution of a marriage through the death of one partner and about the remarriage of the other marriage partner applies.

587 (971)